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able extent, and that the competitive success of the freedmen of this country rests upon the effort that may be devoted to their mental and moral elevation. They have already the same cranial capacity with the Hindostanees, who have developed a high civilisation, a profound philosophy and a rational religion.

We have thus stated, as elaborately as our limits will permit, the differences which exist between the black and white races. It will be seen that, for the purposes of the soldier, he has all the physical characteristics required, that his temperament adapts him to camp life and his morale conduces to his discipline. He is also brave and steady in action. His only disqualifications are found in his greater liability to pulmonary and exanthematous diseases and in the lack of education—perhaps of native intellect—that forbids his attainment to the rank of a commissioned officer. Neither of these objections are of sufficient moment to throw him out of the lists, and, in all subsequent wars, this country will rely largely upon its negro population as a part of its military power.

THE RACE QUESTION IN IRELAND.

By J. W. JACKSON, Esq., F.A.S.L.

THE day for the practical application of Anthropology has not yet arrived. Statesmen, although it is their business to govern men, know nothing of the science of man. And philosophers, although they profess to study human nature, prefer doing so in an abstract way, that ignores diversities of type and character as something beneath the dignity of a mind capable of a logical deduction of conclusions from the first principles of things. The result of this is, that whether in the executive or legislative department of government, we proceed on groundless assumptions and hastily formulated fallacies, which, in so far as they have any recognisable basis, seem to rest on the theological dogma of monogenism on the one hand and on the ultra-republican affirmation of racial equality on the other. As might be supposed, the effect of such grave misapprehension is often most lamentable. With an oceanic empire, that in its various settlements extends from the arctic almost to the antarctic circle, and which embraces not only European, but also Asiatic, African, and American peoples of almost every race, from the oceanic Negro to the high

caste Caucasian, and in every grade of culture, from the Indian hunter to the Oxford professor. Britain, in her regnant and imperial capacity, knows nothing of race. Practically, of course, she is compelled to recognise the difference between an Andaman islander and a Hindu Brahman, and Australian aborigine and a European settler, but she does so grudgingly, and with a reserved conviction that it is only a temporary arrangement, that, by the help of bibles and missionaries, to say nothing of omnipotent acts of parliament, will some day cease and give place to a millennial equality among all the sons of men ! This notion of racial equality was the underlying element of error in the public mind, which permitted of so monstrous a perversion of the forms of justice, as that involved in the prosecution of Governor Eyre. Were not the negroes of Jamaica "brothers," albeit in ebony, and had they not been liberated by parliamentary enactment and hard British cash, and were they not "converted" and capable of speaking English, after a fashion ? What more, then, was needed to prove that, whether as loyal subjects or armed insurgents, their treatment, to the minutest particular, should resemble that of our own or any other European people, under similar circumstances ? This was the arch-fallacy that tinged alike the platform oratory of the missionary meeting and the graver address of the Lord Chief Justice. Now, while such misconceptions are so generally prevalent, our present governmental mistakes, whether in legislation or administration, are unavoidable. The only cure for such errors, is knowledge—at least, to the extent of admitting racial diversity, mental and corporeal.

Now, although the misapprehensions to which we have been alluding are most absurd, if not most mischievous, where the diversity of type is greatest, as for example between Negroes and Caucasians, yet the error in principle is the same ; if, misled by false assumptions of racial equality, we proceed to legislate for well marked varieties of the same great division as if they were identical in endowment and proclivity, in capacity and requirement. We know that this is the tendency of modern legislation, which in this matter is lamentably in arrear of scientific knowledge. We do not blame any one for such a state of things, which is to a large extent unavoidable. We are still in the midway course of a revolutionary movement, which, beginning with theology and ecclesiastics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is now ultimating itself in the political commotion and social change of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. As a reaction against hierarchical and feudal despotism, such a movement could not fail to emphasise equality, to the extent even of ignoring racial diversity. Moreover, this movement is still headed by *doctrinaires*, men who unwisely begin with an assumption and then conscientiously end in a

fallacy. Whether from mental, constitutional, or educational impressions, these men, however otherwise gifted, seem incapable of appreciating facts when opposed to their favourite ideas. Hence, they overlook the obvious organic specialities of the different types of mankind, as of no account from their standpoint, and both speak and act as if they disbelieved in any harmonic relation between the mental constitution and organic structure of a people. They believe in art rather than nature, and fancy that by time and education they can make anything of any race. It is, of course, logically correct for such persons to put unlimited faith in institutions. Regarding laws and usages as the cause rather than the effect of national character, they, without any misgiving, attempt the transference of institutions from one race to another, however great the gulph between them—and then wonder that nature does not second their experiments.

Some of these have been instituted on rather an extensive scale during the present century. The whole of the Spanish possessions on the continent of America have been made the subject matter of their operation. Their racial equality and representative institutions have been on their trial for fully two generations, not as yet with the most satisfactory results. Knox foretold their failure thirty years ago, and nothing has since occurred to falsify his prediction; the only undeniable tendency of things thus far, being towards a re-emergence of the Indian type in strict accordance with the laws of race, as generally understood by Anthropologists. Nothing deterred, however, by this, England attempted the same thing in her West India Islands, where, as there are no aborigines, the only perceptible effect thus far, of this vast and expensive scheme of philanthropy, has been a rather effective development of negroid proclivity to indolence and barbarism; and then, as an affair almost of yesterday, we had the civil war in the States eventuating in the liberation of the negro throughout the South; with what effect, the future alone can decide; although science rather inclines to his ultimate extinction, and perhaps supercession by a superior race, like that of the Chinese Coolie, whose organic specialities also ally him more nearly to the aboriginal Indian type.

But these were experiments with very unfavourable material, where complete fusion, even if ultimately attainable, could not be rationally expected for centuries. But it is otherwise with races more nearly allied, as for example any of the so-called Aryan divisions of Europe. These have been so often commingled by the agency of conquest and colonisation, that it would be difficult to say what two of them will not amalgamate, to the extent at least of an ultimate absorption of one of the types, generally, if not always, the intrusive. Of this, the Goth in Spain, the Visigoth in Italy, and the Frank in Gaul are

illustrious instances. Britain is still debateable ground in this matter, the believers in area regarding it as essentially Celtic, and so at farthest only susceptible of a Teutonic or other baptism. But this view is so alien to popular prejudices, that it finds few supporters except among professed Anthropologists, and even among these there are still many dissentients. By those, on the contrary, who are unqualified believers in race, as something independent of area, England and the Lowlands of Scotland are regarded as thoroughly, and in a sense, permanently teutonised. And as this accords most easily with the prevalent notions about our "Anglo-Saxon" ancestors, it is, of course, the one most generally accepted. According to this popular Anthropology, however, Ireland is always spoken of as undoubtedly "Celtic," and it is so, because it did not partake with England in the benefit of the "Saxon" invasion. We suppose it need scarcely be said, that science cannot accept such "rough and ready" inferences from data so imperfectly ascertained and so gravely misapprehended. The race problem of the British Isles is scarcely susceptible of so facile a solution, which, sooth to say, demands the consideration of elements altogether ignored in this easy settlement of a rather difficult question.

We have spoken somewhat slightly of popular notions on the race question; but, we would not thereby be understood to imply that science has yet any right to assume a dogmatic tone on the subject. Anthropology is still at an incipient stage, and those who have shown the greatest mastery of its principles and the minutest acquaintance with its details, will, if we mistake not, prove the most modest in their pretensions to speak with authority on questions still under discussion, and awaiting the light of additional facts and profounder speculation for their more effective elucidation. It is thus with the great race problem of Europe. We know, that at present its peoples are predominantly Caucasian in type and Aryan in language; and there is adequate evidence that they have been thus characterised throughout the historic period. And yet, its quaternary men, to say nothing of later varieties, were ruder than any aborigines yet discovered. Now, of the process of supercession we know nothing. It was, of necessity, transacted ere written records came into existence, and we have not yet learned to spell out those bequeathed to us from other sources. We have, therefore, to be contented with the fact, rendered indisputable by recent discoveries in Archæology, that there has been a succession of races in Europe, and that its existing Aryans are but the latest link in the series, while its Esthonians in the South and its Finns and Lapps in the North, though no doubt the remnant of earlier races, do not represent the first.

Of course, Ireland participated in these changes ; perhaps, however, in a manner somewhat peculiar, arising from its geographical position as the north-western extremity of Europe, and so the final recipient of its manifold immigrational invasions from the south and east. If we mistake not, there are still perceptible traces of this speciality of position and fortune in its existing population. The Iberian character of the peasantry in the south and west has been often noticed. Even an approximation to an absolutely negroid type has been occasionally detected by keen observers. Now, it may be said, is not this last a remnant of the quaternary man? And what is the first, but a remnant of the Esthonian period not yet fully absorbed by later types? Quite certain it is, that inferior and non-Aryan racial elements are clearly perceptible in the population of the sister isle, and this, too, in much greater strength than in Britain. In the latter they are rare and exceptional, and, therefore, probably due simply to atavism, while in the former they are sufficiently common to warrant the suspicion, if not to sustain the conclusion, that they have been uninterruptedly transmitted, and are, therefore, due to persistence of type on the part of an older and wider, but still not wholly extinguished, race. We allude to these facts—dim and distant as they must seem to the general reader,—not, we trust, in the spirit of Anthropological pedantry, but, because they in a measure help to explain that peculiar impulsiveness and excitability always so characteristic of the Irish, who have thus, perhaps, inherited a rather larger bequest of the passional elements from prehistoric races than most other European peoples.

We would not, however, have the foregoing statements and suggestions misapprehended by the man of science, or misapplied by the statesman. The speciality of the Irish in their relation to rude or prehistoric types, is merely one of comparative aggravation. It has been said, that if you scratch a Russian you find a Tartar, so if you stir a Spaniard too deeply, you rouse the Moor. Something similar may, perhaps, be said of the French and English, only the savage does not here lie quite so near the surface. This is a subject demanding far more attention from Anthropologists than it has yet received. Among the ruder individualities, even of the most civilised nations, we often find types, decidedly barbarous, however produced, whether by degeneracy from a higher or persistence through a lower race. What phrenologists, perhaps rather unfairly, term “the criminal type,” is an instance of this. We remember being particularly struck with the Turanian character of a group of murderers from the collection of the late Mr. Holm, when the old gentleman made us “sup full of horrors,” by a stupendous lecture on the organ of de-

structiveness and its manifestations. This, however, is only a branch of the much wider subject of caste to which we have alluded in a previous article, and which must some day come up for solution at the hands of future Anthropologists.

But whatever may be the number or diversity of prehistoric racial elements still extant in Ireland, we can have no hesitation in assigning it to what is now known as the Celtic area. It is so in common with the whole of the British Isles, and its peculiarity in this relation, is the imperfection of its racial baptism. This perhaps needs some explanation. Few facts are now better established by Archaic and Historic Anthropology, than the periodic baptism of certain types by their racial correlates. The conquest and colonisation of the Celtic area by the Teutons is an instance in point. The previous conquest of the same area by the Romans is another. Now, from the latter the Irish were wholly exempt, both to their moral and physical disadvantage. And they have but imperfectly partaken of the benefits of the former. The result is, that throughout large portions, more especially of Munster and Connaught, we find the Celt in a state of racial exhaustion ; while he everywhere lacks that political and municipal training, which we owe to the domination of Rome, and that social organisation which we have derived from Feudalism. This was doubly unfortunate, for these necessary processes not having been effected at what may be called the right time, and by appropriate instrumentalities, have to be accomplished now, in the midst of a complex civilisation, and by agencies not altogether fitted for so rude a task.

From what has been said, it must be at once obvious that Ireland is, under every point of view, an exceptional country. It is so because, till recently, it remained both geographically and morally isolated from the rest of Europe. It stood out of the highway of events, and so did not partake of the expansion and invigoration which they have communicated to the remainder of Christendom. It was a moral fossil, like India, the only difference being that India is a civilised, while Ireland is a barbarous fossil, but both these extremities of the Caucasian area have been so shut out from the influence of passing events during the whole historic period, that they now present us with the sad spectacle of at least partial paralysis in all the functions of their higher life, the principal evidence of returning vitality which they have yet afforded being rather strong convulsions, painful to themselves and troublesome to their nurse.

Ireland has been often spoken of by historians and statesmen as a country unfortunately arrested at an incipient stage of its national life, by the intrusion of a stronger and more civilised race, who thus prevented the natural development of its intellect and institutions,

for which, the attempted substitution of their own laws, customs, and cultus, was a very inadequate, because radically inappropriate, compensation. And there is great truth in this statement, which, however, only involves an exposition of effects, not of causes. Ireland was susceptible of this institutional arrestment because of the feebleness of her national life, and this feebleness was due to the effeteness of her Celtic type, not adequately invigorated, like that of Britain and Gaul, by a sufficient infusion of the classic element from the south, and the Teutonic element from the north. Nor are we quite sure that even this goes to the root of the matter. If from her extreme isolation in the far Atlantic, Ireland, during the historic period, was imperfectly Teutonised and not at all Romanised, may she not have had an equally exceptional destiny in the prehistoric period?

This is a subject deserving of grave consideration, even at the hands of statesmen and legislators. No mistake could be greater than to suppose that the nations of Europe are what we now find them, simply as a result of events transacted during the historic period, and so more or less definitively within our ken. As regards the classic peoples, for example, the important cycle of Cyclopean civilisation has passed through all its successive phases, from dawn to extinction, ere history or even tradition commences. So there cannot be a doubt that the Celts had passed through a period of power and comparative culture, ere they succumbed to the shock of Roman conquest. Brennus was probably not the first any more than the last Gallic chieftain who found his way over the Alps, now is it likely that the Gauls who invaded Greece were the first intruders of their race upon the sacred land of Hellas. Perhaps it is not too much to say, from the data now in our possession, that the day of Celtic greatness must have antedated the Christian era by at least one if not two thousand years, their Drudicial culture and the use of war-chariots allying them to the era of the great Egyptian and Oriental monarchies, if not to an age still more remote. Now the attainment of such a position, implies much previous discipline, involving, among other things considerable racial interaction, the precycle of Roman and Gothic colonisation. And, judging by her historic experience, there is some reason to think that Ireland may have participated but imperfectly in this prehistoric colonisation, and hence, perhaps, the large remnant of prognathism, the imperfect nasal development, and other indications of organic rudeness and imperfection attaching to large sections of the peasantry, more especially in the south and west, and by which they are unfavourably distinguished from the Highlanders, Welsh and Britons, to say nothing of the more effectually developed English and French.

If there be any truth in the foregoing views, it must be at once obvious that the Irish problem is not institutional but racial, and that the unfortunate speciality of the Sister Isle is not primarily misgovernment, but racial effeteness, the effect of imperfect colonisation. Now whether this effeteness antedates the Celtic era, may still remain an open question awaiting solution from farther inquiry at the hands of Anthropologists, but it certainly and without any doubt postdates it. Ireland has not been Teutonised to the same extent as England, France, Lombardy or Spain. But a Teutonic baptism was a racial necessity of the Celtic area, and it was accordingly provided in the shape of Gothic, Frankish, Saxon and Scandinavian invasions and settlements. Now Ireland partook of the last, when the Norwegians settled at Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, the only towns of any significance at the period of the English conquest. But their settlements in most of these places seem to have been principally urban, and so quite distinct in character from the Saxon conquest of England, and the Frankish conquest of France. It did not leaven the entire population by the introduction of a new racial element, and it did not discipline them by the institution of Feudalism. At farthest, it but prepared the way for the English, and along the eastern coast, laid the foundation of the Pale.

We are now then in a position to understand the real function of English conquest and colonisation. It was supplementary to the utter want of Roman rule, and the imperfect Teutonic baptism, by which Ireland has been unhappily contradistinguished from most of the remainder of the Celtic area of modern Europe. It was simply the carrying out of a great racial law—underlying, we may here remark, all small talk of peace societies, and all tall talk of political economists, *doctrinaire* statesmen, and other well-meaning but impracticable people, who would improve upon the plans of Providence, and make their revolutions out of rosewater. It was and is the terrible necessity of circumstances. From Londonderry to Cork on her eastern seaboard, Ireland, thanks to Danish, Norwegian, and British immigration, has been subjected to more or less effective colonisation, and with the exception of the old Norwegian town of Limerick, it is here alone that we find agriculture or manufactures, in an approachably satisfactory state. And even here, if we compare the condition of thoroughly Anglicised Baronies, like that of Forth near Wexford, with the neighbouring districts, we shall be impressed with the conviction, that even this colonisation, extensive as it was, might have been made more effective, with lasting advantage to the occupied country. We are aware that although calmly expressed, this is a terribly cruel utterance. But what if it be the truth. Euphuistic nonsense and beneficent

platitudes will not alter the laws of Nature, which have to be fulfilled under ever-increasing penalties, of which some are being paid by Ireland at the present moment. Compare Ulster with Munster, or Leinster with Connaught, and you will begin to understand what effective conquest and colonisation, even at a comparatively late period in European history, might have done for "old Ireland" as our Hibernian friends so fondly phrase it. But if you would know the full loss of Ireland in not partaking of Roman civilisation and Teutonic colonisation, simultaneously and proportionately with the remainder of the Celtic area, you must compare "old Ireland" with England, or the lowlands of Scotland, or the north of France. "Ireland for the Irish" is no doubt a splendid war cry, and carries with it a semblance of justice and a sound of patriotism, but in sober truth it is precisely where Ireland is most Irish that it is most poverty stricken, and where it has been most colonised, that it is most prosperous.

Such, then, are the facts. Now what do they imply? The application of our nostrums, say the *à priori* legislators. We will administer any number of "Acts of Parliament" to Ireland, till she is well! She has been injudiciously treated—that is all. We will give her just laws and amended institutions, and await the result. Ah, my friends, you told us the same story about Mexico and the South American republics—and what have you made of them? Miserable failures all, the old Indian blood proving too strong for you and your paper constitutions. No doubt Ireland has been misgoverned, as France and England, Spain and Italy once were, when the iron-heel of the Goth was stamping out their ancient institutions, and his sword was implanting the germs of those which were to succeed them. The pity is that these things were not done for Ireland at an earlier date, and then perhaps a Scandinavian colonisation might have rendered an English conquest unnecessary—and so impossible, as happened in Scotland. Again, we know that these are very unpleasant utterances, quite unsuited to any platform—even that of "the house"—but supposing that they are true, will unanimity in their condemnation render them false, or the consequences which they imply, nugatory?

And do we then despair of Ireland? By no means. On the contrary, we think that she is now in the very crisis of her racial regeneration. Hence her grief. Two hundred thousand patriotic Milesians are not wafted over the Atlantic annually by purely Favonian breezes. No such exodus ever did take place save under a certain measure of compulsion. We would not undervalue the suffering which this implies. Our consolation arises from the perception that it is not a perennial but epochal phenomenon, due to a

combination of special, and, in a sense, exceptional circumstances, recurrent only at rare periods of ethnic commotion. Such an exodus implies much, not only to the country of its reception, but also of its ejection. To the States it is the counterpoise of the German element. To Ireland it is the preparation for a more effective Teutonic-Celtic development, akin to that which has been already accomplished throughout a large portion of Britain. To both it must prove ultimately beneficial, if only as a fulfilment of the law of Nature, who abhors lengthened periods of isolation and stagnation, and generally supplements these by succeeding periods of emigration and racial regeneration.

We have said that Ireland was not conquered and colonised at the right time ; we meant for its present peace and well-being. Contemplated from the mundane stand-point, this, like all other great racial movements and historic events, resolves itself into the manifestation of a law, whose operation is unerring, and whose ultimate results cannot fail to prove beneficent. It would seem that most social baptisms are partial, and what we would call imperfect ; thus in the case of the great Teutonic colonisation of the old Celtic area, we find that in Britain, the Highlands of Scotland, the mountains of Wales, and the Peninsula of Cornwall, were reserved, in a measure, as Celtic preserves, to react, at various periods, with considerable force, on the more Teutonised area of the central and eastern provinces of the island. The heptarchy reaped the first result of this reservation, in the predominance of Wessex ; and Britain probably will not have gathered in the final harvest from this arrangement, till the close of the present cycle of European civilisation, when, once more effete and exhausted, she will again await her renewal at the hands of a ruder and less gifted but more muscular type than the then overwrought and effeminate remnants of her imperial greatness and her refined culture. We see the same phenomenon of reservation, as respects France, in Brittany and largely throughout the south ; we see it again, as to Spain, in the two extremes of Biscay and Andalusia. Similar remarks might be made in the classic area, where, for example, Magna Græcia remains but imperfectly Latinised and still more imperfectly Teutonised to this hour. The purpose of this reservation appears to be the more effective preservation, and ultimate resurrection, of the temporarily submerged type ; now, thus contemplated, Ireland is but the extreme west of the Celtic area of Europe, the last and best preserved retreat of a refined, sensitive, and intellectual race, already, through its better baptised divisions, in the van of civilisation, and apparently preparing for the resumption of imperial supremacy, as the concluding act of the great drama of European civilisation.

This brings us to the mission of Ireland and her place, not merely in British history, but in the great scheme of humanitarian development. No man capable of estimating the forces which have carried civilisation and empire on their north-western course for the last five thousand years, can doubt their inevitable culmination at the terminus of their stupendous march. Rome—whether we contemplate her geographically as a Mediterranean not an oceanic power, or as a heathen not a Christian empire, was obviously not the terminus of the imperial movement, nor the closing scene of the European drama, whose fifth act is only now commencing. In some previous papers we have shown that this must be performed not on a classic but in a Celtic area, not in Greece or Italy but in France or Britain, and preferably in the latter; hence the inordinate growth of London, so ludicrously disproportioned to the merely metropolitan demands of Britain, but perfectly in accordance with its present position, as the exchange of the world, and its impending greatness as the capital of civilisation. But this implies the exercise of a mundane power on the part of the British people, of which we have the faint promise and dim foreshadowment in their present mercantile influence and colonial extension, and perhaps also in the extent to which their institutional example has already modified most of the once despotic governments of Christendom; but true imperial leadership implies far more than this, especially when that leadership is to be based on a Celtic area, and to be exercised by a classically and Teutonically baptised but nevertheless radically Celtic population. For this implies—in addition to the mercantile enterprise, manufacturing industry and mechanical ingenuity by which Britain is now so especially distinguished, nay, in addition to their respect for law and their consequent capacity for the enjoyment of a well regulated liberty, by which her people are so happily characterised—an æsthetic culture second, if second, only to that of Greece, together with a refinement and delicacy of thought and feeling, a sensibility to emotion and a profound sympathy with nature, never reflected in the literature of either a Classic or a Semitic people, and awaiting its full and effective expression at the hands of those who have already produced a Shakespeare and a Shelley in poetry, and who, despite philistinism and the all-pervading worship of mammon, still prevail to speak of literature in the words of Matthew Arnold, and of art in those of John Ruskin.

Now we are fully aware that if there is to be a Celtic as there was a classic empire, it must, like its predecessor, be dual, and that in this division France enacts the part of Greece and Britain that of Rome, but, we would add, of Rome spiritual as well as temporal. Now it is her Celtic elements that can alone qualify her for the former function, and hence, perhaps, the distinct preservation of the Welsh, Gaelic,

and Erse speaking peoples, within the narrow compass of these highly civilised British isles to the present hour. They are so much latent force that cannot be discounted for ever, and must tell on the tone of the national mind, when the exaggerated practicality and vulgar materialism of the present shall yield, in due time, to the nobler aspirations and grander purposes of the future. Now the special quality of the Irish, as contradistinguished from the British Celt, whether southern Loegrian or northern Gael, is not strength but delicacy, not force but refinement, not vigour but spirituality—the very qualities that we want imported into our literature, our art, and, we may add, our religion. But why then, it may be said, have the Irish not manifested these rare gifts more frequently and in richer profusion during their connection with England, and notably in the literature and art of the last two or three centuries. This brings us back to the history, and so to the misfortunes, of their unhappy country.

As we have already seen, the speciality of Ireland is the imperfection of its ethnic baptisms and the consequent postponement of its racial regeneration; so that while France and Britain have been passing through a great cycle of Teutono-Celtic development, under which their national life has attained to vigorous manifestation both in thought and action, the comparatively isolated land of Erin has been struggling in the throes of a belated conquest and colonisation. Combined with this it has also been subjected to another speciality, that of continued dependency, which has only of late ripened into complete incorporation. To the eye of an Anthropologist these latter specialities were but a natural result of the former, and both were due primarily to geographical isolation, which has now happily ceased. As already remarked, from the mundane standpoint the seeming loss of these many centuries of national life is doubtless a small matter; nor can we doubt but the coming ages have an ample compensation in store, both for humanity as a whole and also for the suffering people in particular. But, nevertheless, as seen from the immediate proximity of Britain, and yet more as felt by a sensitive and cultured Irishman, few spectacles are more melancholy than that of the intellectual desolation of the sister isle, whose richly gifted sons should have furnished some of the foremost names in the annals of European culture, but for whom we look in vain when we would seek the compeers of Dante and Shakespeare, of Raphael and Michael Angelo, of Bacon and Newton, of Voltaire and Goethe. Italy, as we have seen, furnishes nothing similar; for though subdued in arms she still remained supreme in intellect. To find a parallel we must go to Greece, exhausted by her many centuries of classic civilisation, and then writhing under the iron heel of Turkish barbarism.

Would we then be understood to imply that either individuals or nations were responsible for this? By no means. It was the terrible inevitability of circumstances. As the last province of the Celtic area to be baptised, Ireland is naturally the last to be regenerated. If it is late in receiving the morning rays of modern civilisation, it was also late in losing the vesper glory of Celtic culture. When Gaul and South Britain were Roman provinces, Ireland still retained her Celtic language and institutions untouched, so that when the Christian missionary landed on her shores the literary dialect of the national tongue was spoken at her courts, the Druid with his sacred traditions unbroken, still officiated at her altars, and the Bard with his epic and amatory poetry in perfect preservation, still sung his inspiring strains as he had done in the days of Oisín, and for a thousand years before. And, although Norwegian kings had reigned for centuries at Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, Erse still remained the mother tongue when Brian Boróime won the battle of Clontarf, and gave the Irish their last chance of founding an independent and Celtic nationality, which, here, if anywhere, might have been expected to survive in its integrity. And, perhaps, sentimentally, we may be permitted to regret that it did not—if only for the sake of the commonwealth of letters, which has thus lost, if not a language, then a literature, unique in character and abounding in mythology, poetry, and tradition from ages now virtually prehistoric. The day for fully appreciating our loss in this matter, however, has not yet arrived. Classical pedantry and Saxon philistinism can still afford to despise Celtic as they once did Oriental studies; but the lettered or unlettered barbarism that would neglect the roots of the indigenous civilisation of half Europe cannot last for ever. And so a day for the profound and earnest study of Celtic history and literature will doubtless yet dawn, and when it does, Ireland will not be wanting with another O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry to assist in the process, nor will her contributions to the common stock of this peculiar scholarship be accounted wholly unworthy of attention.

But, to return to our more immediate subject. The true Pagan culture of Ireland, like that of all Europe, whether Classic, Celtic, or Teutonic, sank into dim eclipse before the triumphant diffusion of Christianity. This is a matter for whose honest and searching investigation the age is not yet prepared. Suffice it, then, that it was not the Norsemen nor the Anglo-Normans, but the Christian priests and their zealous converts who made the first and most destructive attack on the venerable edifice of Druidic learning. They exterminated the entire priesthood, and with it, the scholarship of Celtic heathenism, leaving only the Bards to sing in martial strains of the heroic deeds of an age and faith for ever gone. Ireland is rather valuable as an illus-

tration of this time-honoured process of sacerdotal destruction of alien records, as it was not here complicated by the foreign element of Roman invasion, so that we have the extermination of the Druids and the loss of their lore, as the effect, pure and simple, of the triumph of a hostile faith. Let not the spirit of the foregoing remarks be misunderstood. Druidism, together with that phase of Celtic life and development, whereof it was the more intellectual expression, had, doubtless, served its purpose in the great economy of the world, and so it was cast aside like an outworn garment. But we could have wished, that in this far off Ireland, as in the yet more remote Iceland, the form and purpose of the bygone time of extinct heathenism had been fully preserved at least in written records, for the study of posterity. But, as already hinted, perhaps these regrets are premature, if not superfluous, for the generation which has decyphered the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, which translates the Veda and attempts to interpret the Avesta, can scarcely continue to neglect Celtic antiquities—pedantry and Philistinism to the contrary notwithstanding.

The fact that Druidism in Ireland succumbed to Christianity, is no proof of any especial weakness in its Celtic elements, as a similar subsidence of heathenism occurred sooner or later over the whole of Europe, this being, as we have elsewhere shown, one phase of that duplex invasion, moral and physical, to which the exhausted Classic and Celtic areas were then subjected; while the well-deserved fame of the Christian Irish schools in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, is an indication that whatever defects there may have been in the social or political condition of the Irish people at this period, the evil had not extended to their educational institutions. The fatal weakness of the Irish intellect is best evidenced in the fact that this roseate dawn never brightened into the meridian splendour or matured into the vesper glory of a perfect day. It was a fair but delusive promise, that thus far has had no fulfilment. Scotland, which produced a mediæval Duns Scotus, has also given us a modern David Hume and Adam Smith. While the Venerable Bede and the English Alcuin, have not wanted successors, whether for learning or ability, in recent generations. But who among his countrymen shall we name as the compeer of John Erigena? We are aware that the Irish speak of this as one of the disastrous effects of English conquest, which not only arrested their political and social, but also their intellectual development, at a critical period; an assertion, perhaps, not wholly devoid of foundation, but to which their social and political condition at the period of the English invasion gives but little confirmation. From the battle of Clontarf to the landing of Strongbow, there was

nothing external to prevent, and everything to induce, the Irish people to coalesce into at least a federative nationality. Nor can we doubt that had the power of the Norsemen been as great in Erin as that of the Franks in Gaul, or the Saxons in England, this most desirable result would have been accomplished. But the first tidewave of the Teutonic immigration was not competent to this. It left Ireland, over its larger expanse, still in a state of Celtic exhaustion and clannish confusion, neither adequately baptised by Scandinavian blood, nor effectually reorganised by Scandinavian institutions. And the English invasion was the consequence; this being the form in which, from geographical position and other circumstances, Ireland had to receive the completion of her alien baptism. Now a country so circumstanced, to all appearance so utterly devoid of the simplest elements of national regeneration, could scarcely have emerged unaided, into the full vigour of that new intellectual life, which was manifested throughout the greater part of Western Europe. To have done so, it must have proved an exceptional member of the Celtic family of nations, whose destiny it has been to undergo a thorough Teutonic baptism as a part of their preparation for that vigorous, moral, and material development, to which they have attained under the regenerative and expansive influences of modern civilisation.

Again, let not the tenor of these observations be misconstrued. We do not undervalue Irish genius. On the contrary, as already observed, we regard it as possessing a peculiar delicacy, refinement and susceptibility, in virtue of which it is destined, in a more poetic and spiritual age, to surpass that of either France or Britain. The fact that Ireland is the last province of the Celtic area to be intellectually developed under the influence of our modern material civilisation, and predominantly analytical scientific culture, is by no means a proof that she is the lowest in the scale. The indication, at least to a certain class of minds, is perhaps the very reverse of this. The true Irishman is intuitive and synthetic in the cast and character of his intellect, manifesting in this, as in much else, a certain orientalism in his gifts and proclivities, not easily explicable by our present historic data, albeit Archæology gives some faint promise of ultimately solving this racial mystery of the *ultima Thule* of European civilisation.

But it would be unfair to regard the existent Irishman as the perfection of his type. Save in exceptional instances, he is not so in the sense in which an Englishman or Northern Frenchman represents the regenerated Celt of his area. The ethnic baptism of the sister isle is yet far from complete. The process of racial amalgamation and supercession is still in active operation. The great exodus is an event

of which Irish history affords no precedent, and which for its extent and ethnic importance, is unexampled in the annals of any other portion of the Celtic area. The effects of this movement will be felt for centuries, nor can it fail to be followed, in due time, by a considerable British immigration, which may ultimately assimilate Munster and Connaught, to at least the ethnic condition of Leinster and Ulster. Now we would not insinuate that it will be necessary to wait for the completion of these processes, ere we can expect an effective display of Irish genius ; albeit historic Greece was an ethnic product of the racial interfusion of the Heraclidæ and Hellenes, so accurately portrayed, prior to their amalgamation, in the *Iliad*. So the Italy of Dante and Tasso, of Titian and Michael Angelo was the result of Gothic colonisation ; while Gaul and Britain had to wait for many a century ere they emerged as the France of Racine and the England of Shakespeare.

It has been said that Providence is in no hurry. Its steps are timed, not simply by centuries, but millenniums, and one of the latter has now elapsed since the landing of the Norsemen. Moreover, we live in an age when political, social and intellectual movements have been accelerated, and when, consequently, moral causes ultimate more rapidly in their appropriate effects. Ireland is no longer the isolated Erin of the past. Steam has bridged the Atlantic for her retreating Celts. It has yet more effectually bridged the seas between her and Britain. She is now an integral portion of the European system, and must be assimilated in culture to the area of which she is so fair a portion. We do not expect her to sympathise with the philistinism of the nineteenth century. We do not think it desirable that she should do so. Her mission—if she has one—extends beyond long chimneys and profitable investments. Her higher inspirations must come from the age as yet but faintly dawning. She is the foundling of the present. She will be the darling of the future ; the spiritual complement to England's material power ; the intuitive supplement to Scotland's coercive logic ; the fecund mother of sages and poets, painters and composers, in that great day, when the revolving cycle of Celtic genius shall strike the hour, kindred to that of Greece, when she breathed the Parian into life and framed her unapproachable language into the rhythmic cadences of an immortal literature.

Of course, our Anthropological readers will now be at no loss to understand that we do not put unlimited faith in the prescriptions of statesmen and political economists for the solution of "the Irish difficulty." In its main features and in its producing causes, this lies largely beyond the reach of their art and without the sphere of their wisdom. The ills of Ireland that legislation can remove are on the

surface. The utmost that can be done in this direction is but the removal of impediments to her prosperity. We would not undervalue just laws and good government. But in all the instances with which history has rendered us familiar, these things were essentially effects, not causes, that is, they were the growth of circumstances, and so the reflection and expression of a people's social, moral, and intellectual condition; not an extraneous force, not an imported commodity, but the natural product of their national life. Institutions, ere they can discharge vital functions, must be a part of the organic structure of the body politic. Custom is older than law. Enactments, when effectual, are but the echo of an unwritten code. All that legislation can really accomplish, is but to formulate the social elements already existing in a community. "Acts of Parliament" which transcend this, are an incumbrance. Imperial edicts that go beyond it, are a restriction. We do not expect people who believe in paper constitutions to accept these simple truths. They think nations can be made; we, on the contrary, believe they must *grow*, and that the racial elements of which they are composed will determine the ultimate form they are destined to assume.

The social and intellectual regeneration of Ireland is simply a question of time. It was not statesmanship that produced the clearing exodus, by which not only the superabundant Celtic, but also pre-Celtic element is being reduced within manageable limits. And it is not by statesmanship that the invigorating British immigration is to be effected. Irresistible circumstances produced the first, and will likewise accomplish the last of these great ethnic movements. The age of conquest and confiscation is happily past, but the age of monetary transfer and peaceable colonisation has arrived. Irish agriculture and manufactures only require British skill and capital for their development and they will obtain them.

And this brings us back to what the reader will doubtless have seen was the underlying idea of this paper, namely, the imperfect colonisation of Ireland in the past, and the possibility of an effective English immigration in the future.

We suppose no Anthropologist need be told that the popular and traditional notion about the Danes and Norsemen being simply marauding viking, is wholly false. These daring sea rovers may have acted as pioneers, but throughout Britain and Ireland they were generally followed by merchants, artisans, and commercial mariners, and the misfortune of Ireland was that, whether from her remoteness or the growing exhaustion of Scandinavia, she received a very inadequate supply of these hardy and industrious settlers. But this was followed by another, arising out of the special character of the En-

glish immigration during the slow and troubled process of conquest and occupation. The Anglo-Norman was pre-eminently a soldier—not a worker. He needed Frank and Saxon to precede him for the success of his stringent yet chivalrous feudalism. Had the rural population of Ireland consisted of Teutono-Celtic agriculturists, in place of almost purely Celtic clansmen, he might, and probably would, have made it a second England—albeit, as well remarked by Goldwin Smith, feudalism implies a king as the apex of the social and political pyramid, and this important element Ireland never possessed, so that her barons sunk into chiefs, and society remained in a state of chronic disorganisation. From the accession of the Tudors to the battle of the Boyne, repeated confiscation only made confusion worse confounded; this summary and profitable process of punishing rebellion only sufficing for the introduction, on each occasion, of a fresh flight of unprincipled harpies and political adventurers, whose object was not industrial enterprise, but legalised spoliation. To this, however, there was a partial exception in the rather extensive colonisation of the northern and eastern counties of Ulster under James I, and its completion by the citizens of London under William III; and we see the effects of this introduction of a true industrial, and, therefore, really civilising, element in the present prosperity of Belfast, Coleraine, and Londonderry. Not, we apprehend that Ireland ever will be as effectually Teutonised as England, or the Lowlands of Scotland; Cornwall, Wales, and the Highlands, show with what tenacity the Celt holds his own in the west even of Britain. Now, Ireland is pre-eminently THE west of the entire Celtic area of Europe, and so probably will remain to the end, less baptised with alien blood than most of her neighbours. Moreover, it should be remembered, that in receiving an infusion of Scotch or English immigrants, Ireland only obtains a Teutono-Celtic colonisation. And this probably accords with her place and destiny as the last and best preserved retreat of the Celtic race in the past, and so, perhaps, their finest, because purest exponent in the future.

The application of the foregoing remarks to the minor details or special features of Irish politics is so easy, that any formal attempt of the kind here would be superfluous. The question of the Established Church, for example, is part of a larger whole; for its maintenance or disendowment involves principles whose application cannot be limited to the Sister Isle. Religion, as a social element, no longer looms out in the vast and almost overwhelming proportions which it assumed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The more earnest attention of the general public is now absorbed by politics rather than ecclesiastics. while literature and science largely occupy our higher minds, to the

displacement of theology and its accessories. Hence "the Church" as an institution, whether Catholic or Protestant, is of far less significance than in former centuries, and so a universal disestablishment is looming as a by no means remote possibility in the future. It has already been accomplished in America, and may impinge on Europe through Ireland. Indeed, without an arrestment of the present predominant tendency to institutional disintegration, we may say this, like much else, is an inevitability. But let no one suppose that Protestant disestablishment will prove a panacea for the ills of Papal Ireland. These, as already remarked, are racial not institutional in their origin. That the Reformation, as a Teutonic movement, introduced a phase of faith and worship ill-adapted to the Classic and but imperfectly suited to Celtic nations, there is no doubt but the Cornish Wesleyan, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist and the Presbyterian Highlander, amply suffice to show that under favourable circumstances, Protestantism is by no means incompatible with a very strong infusion of the Celtic element. The truth is that the Irish are Catholics, not because they are Celts, but because they were oppressed by the English Protestants, whose creed they rejected, not from conviction but patriotism. The religion of the Celt as a racial speciality, has yet to be developed, and when it is so, we may be quite sure that it will differ alike from the gross sensuousness of the Classic, and the cold intellectuality of the Teutonic phase of belief and worship. But in that development France and Britain will have to be consulted as well as Ireland.

It is the same with land tenure. You cannot deal with this as a purely Irish question. There is no doubt that injustice was done both in Ireland and the Highlands, when the common land of the Sept was vested as private property in the chief, and the participant clansman reduced to the condition of a tenant at will. But it was an injustice that must at some time have been perpetrated in England and France, albeit the records of this "legalised spoliation" have utterly perished. But it is now too late for modern legislation to recognise this primitive condition of things. The Sept, like much else that was once a part of the organic framework of society, has perished, and the nation has taken its place. Now it is quite possible that a time may come, when the land, which no man has made, any more than he made the air and the sunlight, no man will be permitted to possess absolutely, but only to use under conditions, appointed by the State, as sole and inalienable proprietor of its own territory. But this is a very different thing from that exceptional legislation which would vainly endeavour to satisfy Irish discontent by an impossible return to Brehon laws and clannish usages. Again, let us clearly understand

that the inevitable future of Ireland is not a return to the defunct institutions of primitive Celtic society, but a march onward with her compeers, into all the grand possibilities of modern civilisation. The exceptional condition of Ireland in the past, was due to her isolated position, and as the latter has ceased, the former cannot continue. Her obvious destiny is a racial and social assimilation to the remainder of the Celtic area, which implies that she must proceed with her baptismal regeneration, by the time-honoured processes of emigration, immigration, and amalgamation, and then base her progress and prosperity, not on foreign aid or alien leadership, but on the irrepressible energy and exhaustless resources of her renewed population.

Similar remarks are applicable to the industrial future of Ireland. She is simply behind England and France, as the latter were belated in comparison with Italy. The material prosperity of the old Classic and Celtic areas, as they gradually emerged into renewed social and national life, after the confusion attendant on the fall of the Roman Empire, was due in large part to the infusion of fresh energy, by the immigrant population, which vitalised and reinvigorated the municipal institutions and trades established by the Romans, and enabled them to develop into the corporations and guilds of the middle ages. But as Ireland never enjoyed the advantages of the Roman Municipia, so she only exceptionally partook of the commercial enterprise and industrial energy of the Norsemen. To the latter, however, she owes the foundation of whatever prosperity has been attained by Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Limerick. Still, as already remarked, their influence was local and almost purely urban, so that in reality the great work of social edification and industrial organisation, through all its successive stages from the clan to the nation, has been effected under English leadership, supplementing, as yet we fear but imperfectly, the want of that Roman law and Gothic force, to which the remainder of Western Europe owes so much of its present wealth and civilisation. Thus we see that in her industrial, as in many other aspects, Ireland, over a large portion of her area, is still an anachronism. She is at best mediæval rather than modern, but in truth there is much both in Munster and Connaught, that a feudal noble or an Italian podesta would have pronounced barbarous, and on which a Saxon yeoman or English alderman of the early Norman kings, would have looked with that pity which borders on contempt. Ireland, we must repeat, suffers from imperfect colonisation and insufficient discipline, and as a result, she is still in the turmoil and commotion of that racial displacement, which was effected over most of the west of Europe, from the fifth to the tenth century. But time,

the great healer, has doubtless his compensations in reserve, though for these, as for other gifts of the gods, we must wait the Divine pleasure—or, if our Positivist friends prefer it, the operation of unerring law—a process not to be hurried, even by the omnipotence of Parliamentary enactments.

We have said that Ireland is an anachronism; she is so theologically, intellectually and socially, and she is so in her agriculture, manufactures and commerce. But this cannot continue. Nay, it is the almost unexampled rapidity with which this exceptional condition of things is ceasing, that occasions most of the discontent which now pervades the excitable but unreflecting population of the Sister Isle. Her cottar tenants are evicted, not slowly but in all haste, to make way for the modern agriculturist, who manages his farm on the Scotch or English model. And this great change is effected, not as it was with us, by slow growth and spontaneous action from within, but by example and influence, and not seldom by actual immigration and alien occupancy, from without. It is no wonder that under such circumstances, the land question is a source of irritation to the people and of disquietude to their rulers. The process of transition is too rapid for the comfort of either its agents or its subjects, and the wonder is not that we have a few agrarian outrages, but that we have not something occasionally approaching in its proportions to a servile or peasant war—a disaster from which the stupendous exodus could alone have saved us. Now what we have to do is simply to let this inevitable process of transition take its course. By meddling we may mar, that is, delay and disturb it. We may aggravate or we may prolong the feverish condition of the patient by our foolish nostrums. But the period of crisis has come, and he must pass through it, as other and equally good men have done before him.

It is the same with manufactures and commerce. Except in the North, they are still awaiting their inevitable development. Now, judging by the experience of the remainder of Europe, this cannot well take place, till the process of racial displacement and commotion has in a measure ceased. Security is a *sine qua non* of commercial prosperity, more especially in modern times, when capital so easily takes wing, and credit is subject to such fatal panics. But there need be no fear as to the ultimate result. The Irish are an ingenious and enterprising people, and they possess a natural taste, far surpassing in delicacy and refinement that of either the English or Scotch, approaching in this, as in much else, a French rather than a British standard. Strictly speaking, it is not the linen trade of Belfast, but the lace trade of Limerick which most truly represents the manufacturing skill of Ireland. Of course we do not expect the untravelled English reader, whose model Irishman is the mason's

hodman and bricklayer's labourer, to accept these conclusions. He can only judge by what he has seen. But supposing a Frenchman had only seen a Somersetshire peasant, fresh from the plough, could he conceive that out of this rough material, time and circumstance would ever frame the cunning hand and contriving brain of the skilled artisans of England. Ireland, we repeat it, is a vast reserve of intellectual resources for another and a better age than the present, when the finer rather than the stronger elements of humanity will be in demand. So, equally, she is a reserve of manufacturing skill, the needed complement to the hard practicality and almost grovelling utilitarianism of British industry, whose admitted want is taste. But as in her agriculture, so yet more in her manufactures, Ireland will doubtless be largely indebted to British capital and enterprise for her earlier steps. But once fairly started she has a path of her own, distinct from, yet allied to, that of the other clearly marked provinces of the great Celtic area of the west.

But it is time we should conclude, not because we have exhausted our subject, but our space. Our remarks have not been penned in haste, but are the result of many years' personal familiarity with, and residence among our Welsh, Irish and Gaelic fellow subjects. And as a result of such residence, we have not the least hesitation in saying, that the Celtic element, not merely as constituting the ethnic basis of our lowland Scotch and English population, but as represented in yet greater strength and purity by the sectional communities we have just named, is altogether underestimated, because totally misapprehended by the English public. We do not expect to change this opinion. It is sufficient that we know it to be erroneous. While the majority of Englishmen fancy themselves Saxons, or Anglo-Normans, they will of course despise the poverty-stricken remnant of the Celts. But the days of this popular fallacy are obviously numbered. Anthropology condemns it, and already in the eyes of those who have mastered the science of man, it is numbered with the prejudices of a bygone age. And whenever it shall be generally admitted that Britain is unalterably an integral portion of the Celtic area, susceptible of a Teutonic as of a Classic baptism, but nothing more, then will the day of justice to Celtic genius have arrived. We all know the beautiful and appreciative papers on this subject by Matthew Arnold, in the *Cornhill*. And these were written after only a few weeks' residence on the borders of Wales. But had he lived for years in her secluded valleys, and wandered not merely in the summer sunshine, but in the wintry mists among her mountains, and drank in of the enthusiasm of men to whom the names of Myrddin, Aneurin and Taliessin are still familiar as household words, we could fancy that

his sympathies would have been yet more deeply stirred and his noble eloquence have risen to yet grander utterances than those for which we are so deeply indebted to him.

It is the same with Ireland. You cannot know her people as a tourist. You cannot see them as they are, through the plate-glass of your railway carriage, or from the window of your hotel. To understand them you must live among them. They must know you ere you can know them—a truth of which most tourists, and not a few professed travellers, seem sadly oblivious. Not to aristocratic hauteur or philistine vulgarity, or sectarian bigotry, will they reveal the sacred sorrow bequeathed by six hundred years of defeat and humiliation. This sorrow and the love of country whence it springs, have never yet found befitting utterance in English words. The revealer of Ireland's heart is still to come. Thomas Moore was but the caged canary of a Whig drawing-room. There is more of the true soul of Erin in one air of Carolan, than in all the pretty melodies he ever penned. It is here we touch the key, by which alone it is possible for a stranger to unlock the deeper mysteries of Irish character. Ireland, like Scotland, must be interpreted through her music. The ecstacy of her joy, the agony of her grief, the ardour of her love, and the fervour of her patriotism, otherwise so silent or so extravagant, all find adequate and befitting expression through the medium of this universal language, where it still awaits that transfusion into our mother tongue, which, if we mistake not, will yet add another chapter of beauty and power to the ever-growing wealth of English literature.

GALL'S ORGANOLGY.

To the Editor of the Anthropological Review.

SIR,—On the second page of the leading article in your last number (p. 330), I read as follows:—"Why is it that psychology proper remains where it was 2,000 years ago? Solely because she was too proud or too ignorant to call in the aid of the physiologist and pathologist. So, too, the nearly hopeless and chaotic condition into which the discoveries of Dr. F. Gall, respecting organology, have fallen, is the result of, in the first place, insufficient foundation, and in the second, dogmatic teaching:" and in the next sentence but one, I am informed that "The discussions on the localisation of cerebral action,